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THE ORAIBI FLUTE ALTAR.

THE reader will find in the following pages a few notes on two of the most instructive ceremonies of the Tusayan villages. Notwithstanding the accumulation of facts in the last few years on the ceremoniology of this interesting people, much still remains to be discovered, and it is hoped that this article may be a valuable contribution to the subject. The studies which have furnished the material for these notes were made by me while in charge of an expedition intrusted to my lead, by the Smithsonian Institution, to explore the cliff-dwellings and other ruins of the southwestern territories.

No Tusayan village has more persistently resisted efforts of ethnologists to penetrate into the secrets of its priests than Oraibi, and as a result less is known of the ceremoniology of this pueblo than of any other. This isolation has no doubt led to a survival at Oraibi of the original ritual in a less modified form than in the other pueblos, while the comparatively large size of the place would lead us to expect in it a much greater elaboration in celebrations of a religious nature.

At the present time the people of this pueblo are about equally divided into two factions, one of which is friendly to the whites, the other hostile. There is little doubt but that the numbers of the former party are steadily increasing, and that in a few years the ethnologist will be as readily and heartily received into the secret ceremonies at Oraibi as he has been for several years in Walpi and the other pueblos of the East Mesa. The harvest which awaits him promises to be large, but it must be gathered immediately, for the changes which are taking place year by year are very great.¹

¹ Every year, as I revisit Tusayan, I can easily note improvements and modifications for the better in the life of the people. In 1891, when I first saw Oraibi, there was not a house in the plain below it, but now a day school, a mission, and a cluster of Indian dwellings, with their red roofs, which are far from picturesque,

At the close of my archæological field work for the Smithsonian Institution at the Tusayan ruin Sikyatki, I visited Oraibi to obtain comparative material for my report, more especially to examine a collection of ancient pottery belonging to Mr. Voth,¹ a missionary at that pueblo. This visit gave me an opportunity incidentally to enter the rooms of both the Cakwaleñya and Macileñya, the blue and the drab Flute societies, which were then engaged in their secret rites.

As so little is known of Oraibi ceremoniology, it is with pleasure that I give at the end of this article a representation of the altar of the Flute priests, copied from a sketch made by me on that visit. The hurried nature of my examination rendered it impossible, much as I had wished to do so,² to study the Oraibi Flute ceremony; but as the Flute altar at this pueblo is one of the most elaborate and instructive which I have ever seen, I feel justified in devoting a plate and a few pages of description to it.

The most prominent figurine of the Oraibi Flute tiponi altar is a representation of the god Cotokinuñwa, Heart of all the Sky, or Star god (2), which stands with outstretched arms before the reredos, directly behind the Flute tiponi (1).

The height of this figure is nearly four feet. The image is of wood, and painted in dull colors, having every appearance of antiquity. One of the marked symbolic features of Cotokinuñwa is the conical head, which is well shown in the image; but we miss another almost universal symbol of this god, the equal-armed cross, which as far as I know is wanting here, although found in the cross, the so-called tokpela, of the Walpi Flute tiponi altar.

The neck is surrounded by many shell and turquoise necklaces, which hang over the shoulders, supporting a beautiful shell (haliotis) pendant.

The remarkable thing about the image is the great length of the legs and the total absence of a body. These legs are straight, slightly have been erected at the foot of the mesa, showing that the Oraibis are beginning to leave their inaccessible pueblo habitation which was so necessary for protection in old times. When the pueblo Indian is separated from his old communal life his improvement from our standpoint is assured. It is to be hoped his real improvement will be the result.

¹ I wish here to express my indebtedness to this zealous ethnologist and missionary for numerous kindnesses during my hurried visit to Oraibi. Mr. Voth, having made his home near Oraibi, wisely began his studies with the Hopi language as a preliminary to his work among these people. As far as I know, he is the only living white man who may be said to speak the Hopi language fluently.

² It must be borne in mind that ethnology was but a secondary object of my work at Tusayan last summer. The primary purport was the collection of archæological material, which so occupied my energy and time that I could devote but little attention to Tusayan ceremoniology.

divergent below, and have the lightning symbols depicted along their whole length. No attempt is made to represent knees or feet, but the arms are better carved than the lower extremities, having elbows which are apparently jointed.

The prominence given to the Heart of the Sky god in the Oraibi Flute altar adds interest to the suggestion that this deity is a foreign one in Hopi mythology, or due to Christian teachings. The balance of evidence thus far gathered would seem to indicate that it is a truly aboriginal conception, represented on altars either by an image or symbols in all Tusayan pueblos where the Flute ceremony is performed.

The upright framework or reredos is formed of two vertical parts united above by a crossbar, the whole when taken together having the form of a head tablet of the Humis Katsina helmet. The vertical portions are composed of conical bodies, each with flaring ends, piled in rows one above the other. Fifteen vertical rows of these objects, composed of four horizontal members on the right and three on the left side, were counted. The upper or connecting portion of the reredos was ornamented with six semicircular figures symbolic of the rain-clouds, their colors red, yellow, and green, corresponding to the world-quarters. The apical semicircle was both white and black, the former inclosing the latter. Four zigzag figures representing lightnings were depicted extending from the symbolic figures of clouds, and there were representations of birds drawn on the same crosspiece. At the four angles sprigs of some species of grass were attached.

The floor in front of the upright frame was covered by a picture (12) similar in symbolism to the reredos, but made on a sand or meal bed, representing a cloud with parallel lines symbolic of falling rain. Although outlined with a narrow band of black, and made on sand or meal, the greater portion of the design was filled in with grains of maize¹ of two colors, yellow on the right, blue on the left side. The parallel lines representing rain falling from the symbolic rain-cloud on the floor extended on the ridge of sand (14) which supported the upright objects of the altar.

The Flute tiponi (1) stood on a small mound of sand in the semicircle back of the corn picture in front of the image of the Heart of the Sky god. Between it and the ridge of sand (14) there was a small earthen vessel of unknown significance. A wooden figure (3), much smaller than that of the Heart of the Sky god, stood on each side of the uprights of the altar. Nothing distinctly symbolic was observed depicted on these images, but their position was

¹ We have here, in other words, a corn picture or maize mosaic, a novelty in my studies of Tusayan altars.

the same relatively to the altar as in the Cipaulovi Flute (Pl. II.). The necks of these idols were profusely adorned with shell and turquoise necklaces, and numberless cotton strings with attached feathers hung about their waists. One of these idols is male, the other female, as in the Cipaulovi and Walpi Flute altars; they are possibly cultus heroes of the fraternity.

In front of each image there was a small mound of sand (4) covered with meal and corn pollen, from or near which was a rod with brilliantly colored conical wooden objects called flowers. Similar mounds, with the same objects inserted in them as pins in a cushion, have been described in my account of the Flute altar of Cipaulovi.¹

The bird effigies (7), instead of being six in number and arranged in a row on the floor in front of the altar, as at Cipaulovi,² were grouped in two clusters, one on each side of the corn picture. Nine of these were counted on the right, and several on the left-hand side of the poñya. They were rudely carved, of various sizes, and all had short wooden pins for legs. The presence of bird effigies appears to be an essential feature of the Tusayan Lelenti or Flute altars in all the pueblos where these rites are observed.

Of the several objects between the uprights of the altar back of the large image of the Star god, two round wooden bodies (5) are conspicuous. These are almost identical with similar objects on the altar of the Niman Katsina, and are said to be symbols of ears of corn. The smaller sticks — of which there are several, all planted in the same ridge of sand — were variously interpreted by different informants.

There seems to be a unanimity of opinion that the two wooden slats, one on each side of the legs of the large image, and which are decorated with rain-cloud and falling rain symbols, are symbolic of rain gods or Omowûh.

The significance of the objects (10) on the extreme right and left of the corn picture is unknown to me. They resemble bags with projecting rows of tubes, and differ from any ceremonial paraphernalia with which I am familiar.

¹ In an article on the dolls of the Tusayan Indians I was unable to figure that of the so-called Flute Katsina, which is one of the common forms of these figurines. A distinguishing feature of the doll of this personage is the presence on its head of wooden objects similar to those found in the small mounds above mentioned. These objects are of different colors, but are always present on the head of the doll. The mouth is triangular, the eyes rectangular and of two colors, and a number of parallel lines connected at one end are painted obliquely across each cheek. In the celebration of the Flute dance the actors wear sunflowers in their hair, and these conical bodies may likewise be regarded as artificial flowers.

² *Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. ii. p. 116.

Standards or Natci. — I have already in former publications called attention to the fact that the two small sticks (natci) which are placed in a conspicuous place on the roof, to indicate to the public that the Flute organization of Cipaulovi and Walpi are engaged in their rites, were tied to one of the ladder posts of the Flute chamber.¹ A similar standard was also used at Oraibi, where it was tied to the left-hand ladder-post in one, and to a vertical rod in the other, as a ladder was not convenient. This standard resembles the prescribed Flute paho in having a face cut on one of the component sticks. Flute pahos also have an incised ferule about midway in their length, but otherwise they resemble the Antelope paho.² The larger standard, which corresponds to the awatanatci, a bow and arrows, with horse-hair, of the Snake and Antelope kivas, stood on the floor in the Oraibi Flute near the six directions' altar, on the opposite side from the tiponi altar. It consisted of an upright rod about the size of a broom-handle, set in a pedestal of wood, in which were also stuck many similar but shorter sticks. At its point of insertion in the pedestal a Flute paho was tied. The opposite extremity of this natci bore feathers, skins, and red horse-hair, much the same as the larger standard of the Flute societies of other pueblos. Side by side with this larger natci at Oraibi there was an upright rod of smaller size, set in a pedestal of clay, bearing at its top a fascis of aspergills, with feathers projecting upwards. Each of the component aspergills resembled one of those which were laid by the side of the ear of corn at the end of the meal line in the six directions' altar.

Six Directions' Altar. — This altar,³ a constant feature in all great Tusayan ceremonials, differs in no essential respects from the same at the East Mesa. It consisted of a central charm-liquid bowl (naküyi tcakapta), radiating from which are six lines of prayer meal drawn on a mound of sand. These lines correspond to the six chief or cardinal world-quarters, northwest, southwest, southeast, and northeast, above and below. At the extremities of these lines were ears of maize, one at the end of each line of meal, by the sides of which were aspergills as elsewhere described. The altar was made in front of the tiponi altar, a little to the left side in the Cakwaleñya and within the inclosure formed by rows of feathers in the Macileñya.

Ceremony at the Six Directions' Altar. — At the time we entered

¹ The secret exercises of the Flute Society in all the Tusayan pueblos are performed in a living room of the Flute family, and not in a kiva.

² *Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. iv. p. 27.

³ The definitions of a tiponi altar and a six directions' altar were given in my account of the Tusayan New Fire Ceremony. *Proc. Bost. Soc. Nat. Hist.*, 1894.

the room where the poñya was seen, the Flute priests were engaged in rites about the six directions' altar. Eight men and four women — the latter as spectators — were present. Four of the eight men were chiefs and sat about the charm-liquid bowl, and four stood a little one side accompanying the singers with their flutes. One of these last mentioned performers stood apart from the remainder, and was the only one who wore a ceremonial kilt. The priests about the bowl squatted on the floor, with hair hanging down their backs.

The songs were sung by the four chiefs about the charm liquid, during which the Flute chief and two others beat time with paayas or moisture rattles, curved sticks, to the crooks of which were tied dangling shells that rattled against each other. The remaining chief, who sat opposite the Flute chief, beat time with a feather which ever and anon he dipped into the charm liquid and asperged to the world-quarters in sinistral circuit. This man also performed the part of pipe-lighter. The music was effective, and the flutes sounded in harmony with the songs so loudly that they were heard some distance from the room, where a considerable audience composed of women, boys, and girls had gathered outside the room to listen to the melodies.

The events which occurred during the rites about the charm-liquid were identical with those which I have often mentioned in Tusayan ceremonials of a similar nature on the East Mesa, and consisted of —

1. Ceremonial smoke.
2. Prayers.
3. Songs with accompanying flutes.
 - a. Meal and pollen dropped into the liquid.
 - b. Tobacco smoke puffed into the liquid.
 - c. Whistling with the bird whistle.
 - d. Ears of corn dipped in sequence.
4. Prayers.
5. Ceremonial smoke.

Altar of the Macileñya or Drab Flute. — The chief of the other Flute house at Oraibi belonged to the faction which is hostile to white men, for which reason I was urged not to make notes or sketches of their altar. Although my visit to them was of short duration, I am able from memory to record a few facts about their altar. The back wall of the room was painted white, on which a short distance above the floor was depicted in black the well-known symbols of the rain-clouds, surmounted by a triangular figure. On each side of the rain-cloud symbol there was painted a vertical black band, flaring at the top. Parallel with each of these was a

second line, also long and narrow, terminating above in a representation of a feather.

The altar itself was rectangular in form, placed on the floor a short distance from the middle of the room, and surrounded on three sides, one of which was towards the painted wall, by a ridge of sand in which long black eagle feathers stood upright. Inclosed by these rows of feathers were the medicine bowls (*naküyi tcakapta*) and ears of maize arranged in the form of a six directions' altar. The three priests who were present gave me a quasi-cordial greeting, without, however, expressing a desire to prolong my visit. I noticed many familiar ceremonial objects about the room, but was urged to hasten my departure by Mr. Voth, who told me this was the first time he had been permitted to enter the room or *kiva* of any of the "hostiles" since he had been among them. On my return from Oraibi to the East Mesa I camped the next evening under the ruin of Payüpki, and learning that the *Lelenti* "was on" at Cipaulovi, I could not resist inspecting the *Cakwaleñya* altar at that pueblo, especially as I had already been initiated into the Flute Society at that place. Moreover, my observations on the Oraibi *Leñtiponi* altar had whetted my desire to compare the two, after verifying my studies of three years ago (1892). I found on inspection that it was unnecessary to make any important corrections in my account of the Flute altar; but although the standard of the *Macileñya* was in position on the housetop at the south end of the town, it was not over the room where I had previously seen the accompanying altar, and I found that no priests of this division had gathered to perform the elaborate rites which I had described. I was told that the altar was not made this year, and by some of the priests that it would never be made again. This astonished me, and if it is true, as I suspect, that the Cipaulovi drab Flute has been given up, my description must always remain the only account of a part of the ceremony which has been abandoned in the last years — a more rapid extinction or modification of Tusayan rites than I had expected has probably occurred.

The description which I have already given elsewhere of the Cipaulovi *Cakwaleñya* altar was found to be accurate,¹ and may be relied upon in comparative studies. But before we can go very far in comparisons, we ought to have more data regarding the Flute altars of *Cuñopavi* and *Micoñinoví* the other Tusayan pueblos which still retain this ceremony.

¹ The poverty of the Cipaulovi altar in paraphernalia may readily be explained when attention is called to the fact that this pueblo is one of the smallest in Tusayan. Oraibi, on the contrary, is the largest.

From a comparison of the plates¹ representing the Oraibi and Cipaulovi Flute tiponi altars (Compare Pls. I. and II.) it will be seen that in arrangement and detail the objects upon them differ considerably, yet in general character they are the same. Incidentally the divergence shows how much difference we may expect in the same altars among peoples of different stock.

The plate (Pl. II.) representing the Flute altar at Cipaulovi shows that it is of simpler construction than that of the same fraternity at Oraibi, but that they are strictly homologous in all parts.

The four wooden slats (T), cut in the form of serpents and colored with the colors of the four world-quarters, represent the Heart of the Sky god, of which they are symbolic. In the Walpi Flute altar we have a corresponding symbol of the same deity in the horizontal wooden cross (tokpela), the emblem of the same god. As far as the reredos of the Oraibi and Cipaulovi altars are concerned, we find the omnipresent cloud symbols on each. The two figurines, the mounds with inserted artificial flowers, are identical in the two, but in the Cipaulovi altar the Flute birds are arranged in a row; in the Oraibi in two groups. While the Oraibi Flute chief had but one tiponi, the Cipaulovi had two which he placed on his altar. There are two unknown objects (10) on the Oraibi altar which are not found on the Cipaulovi.

Although these two altars differ slightly in their accessories, their likeness is close enough to show that they are derived from a common source, and are not independent evolutions. If we grant, as I think we must, that the Flute altars in these two pueblos could not have originated independently, we can pass to a comparison of such similar altars as those of the Sia and Walpi Antelope-Snake priests without fear of error. I venture to say the differences between the Antelope-Snake altar at Sia and that at Walpi are even less than those between the Oraibi and Walpi Flute altars. This resemblance has led me to the belief that the Sia and Tusayan Antelope-Snake altars have not originated independently, but show derivation, and I have yet to see valid objections to the cogency of my resultant reasoning.

¹ For descriptions of the Cipaulovi altar see the following articles:—

"A Suggestion as to the Meaning of the Moki Snake Dance." *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. No. xiii.

"A Study of Summer Ceremonials at Zuñi and Moqui Pueblos." *Bull. Essex Inst.* vol. xxii. Nos. 7, 8, 9.

"A Few Summer Ceremonials at the Tusayan Pueblos." *Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. ii. No. i. pp. 108-150. 1892.

"The Walpi Flute Observance; A Study of Primitive Dramatization." *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. vii. No. xxvi. 1894.

THE WALPI SNAKE DANCE OF 1895.

The Snake Dance at Walpi is no longer a subject upon which a casual visitor to the pueblos can add much to what is known, but has passed into the range of scientific research, and we must look to specialists for further advances in our knowledge of its intricacies. In other words, a visit to the pueblos on the day of the dance can hardly be expected to shed much new light on our knowledge of the ceremony, for the obscure rites connected with it can be witnessed only by the initiated, and initiation means an acquaintance of long duration with the Indians.

While, therefore, the several published accounts of the 1895 dance which have appeared in newspapers are valuable in calling public attention to this interesting survival, very little has been added by these articles to the knowledge which we have of this strange ceremony. No white man except the author was permitted in 1895 to see the kiva rites, where most of the obscure parts of the ritual are to be expected, with the exception of Mr. G. Sykes, who witnessed the sixteen songs ceremony of the Antelopes.¹

For reasons elsewhere stated, it was impossible for me to devote much time to the study of the 1895 Snake observance, but I am able in the following pages to notice certain modifications in the ceremony since 1893, due to the death of prominent Antelope priests, and to put on record one or two novel details of minor rites which were but imperfectly known when my memoir was published.

Since the 1893 presentation of the Walpi Snake Dance two important members of the Antelope Society have died,—Nasyuñweve² and Hahawe, the latter, pipe-lighter and asperger. The place of the former was filled by Katci, and that of the latter by Wikyatiwa. Both of these men were already Antelope priests, and the duties of the deceased were simply transferred to fellow-priests. The new man, named Pontima, who took no part in the 1891 and 1893 observances, was given an important position, and participated in the for-

¹ In 1891 both the Antelope and Snake priests were shadowed by Mr. Stephen, Mr. Owens, and myself for nine consecutive days and nights, and their chiefs, were not out of our sight during all that time. We slept in or on the kivas, followed the celebrants down breakneck trails at midnight, and at the close of the dance I for one was about exhausted physically. While I would gladly, if necessary, go through the same experiences again, the possible results did not seem to demand it in the present year.

² Nasyuñweve belonged to the Woods (fuel) people, and his totem was a picture of the head of Masauwüh, the Fire god. Hahawe was the best singer of the Antelopes, and sang for me the sixteen songs on phonographic cylinders which I now have. He belonged to the Ala (Horn) people, and his totem was a picture of a deer.

mal smoke, when chiefs only were admitted, on the night before Hoñyi, speaker chief, made the formal announcement.¹

Hahawe in the sixteen songs ceremony of 1891 and 1893, as I have already shown, performed the offices of pipe-lighter and asperger for a small boy who had not yet arrived at years to justify his undertaking this duty. In taking Hahawe's place Wikyatiwa, as he distinctly informed me, did not perform these duties for himself and had not become a smoker chief, but accepted the future task of the same small boy. All other members of the Antelope Society were alive, and performed their respective duties as outlined in my account of the Snake Dance. No chief of the Snake priests had died, although one or two of the other members were no longer among the living.

*The Smoke Talk and Announcement.*²—The simple ceremonies when Hoñyi, the speaker chief, is commissioned to announce the Snake Dance, and his acts at that time, are briefly referred to in my Snake Memoir, but this year I was able to obtain a few additional details. The method of determining the date when the smoke talk shall occur was not investigated, but it is said to be fixed upon by the sun's position on the horizon, as I have elsewhere explained in my account of the Tusayan ritual.

At about nine o'clock p. m. on August 1st there assembled at the old³ Snake house (ancient home of the Snake people) the following chiefs:—

Wiki, Tcūbmoñwi, Antelope chief; Kopeli, Tcūmoñwi, Snake chief; Katci; Supela, Kopeli's father; Kakapti, sand chief and courier; Hoñyi, speaker chief; and Pontima. Kwaa ought to have attended, and was repeatedly asked for, but failed to appear.

The chiefs squatted about a basket tray of sacred meal near the fireplace, Wiki sitting at the right of the same. The chiefs first smoked ceremonially, during which terms of relationship were exchanged as the pipe was passed from one man to another. Wiki

¹ Incidentally I learned that the present Snake chief, Kopeli, succeeded his uncle, Naticwa, who was his mother's eldest brother. It will thus be seen that the matriachal system of descent of chieftaincy prevailed in Kopeli's succession. When Wiki dies his nephew, Hoñyi, will succeed him, showing that the same law is in force in this priesthood.

² The winter assembly of the Antelope-Snake Society is a subject about which little is known, but would repay searching examination. I have a few notes, too incomplete for publication, about it, but have never witnessed its celebration. The winter assembly of the Flute, which has certain points in common with that of the Antelope-Snake, I have elsewhere described.

³ Supela and his wife Saliko, senior members of the Snake family, had moved from their ancestral home, but true to that conservatism which is everywhere characteristic of Hopi ceremoniology, the smoke talk took place, not in the Snake chief's present home, but in the old traditional maternal homestead.

then made several nakwakwoci, and deposited them on the meal in the tray. After all had smoked they prayed in the following sequence: Wiki, Kopeli, Katci, Pontima, and Hoñyi; as each one prayed the others responded, antci, right, or amen.

At the close of this simple rite Wiki gave the prayer-strings (nakwakwocis) to Hoñyi, instructing him to announce the Snake Dance on the following morning at sunrise. The chiefs then left the room. Having requested Hoñyi to arouse me when he made the announcement, I laid down in my blanket on sheepskins which he kindly brought me.

Long before dawn Hoñyi awakened me, and I found him standing near by, with his tray of meal in one hand. He beckoned me to follow, and we went without a word down the ladder, past the "antelope rock," to the narrow place in the mesa where the trail enters Walpi. There, as in many other places on the mesa, the trail has been worn a few inches into the solid rock by the constant passers, and in that groove Hoñyi extended a long string with feathers tied at the end, sprinkling a line of meal over it. This is called the pühtabi or roadway. We then continued eastward to the shrine midway between Walpi and Sitcomovi, on the south side of the mesa, where there is a trail which descends to the terrace below the pueblos. Just east of this shrine, on the very edge of the cliff, facing the point of sunrise, Hoñyi deposited a handful of meal, and on it laid a second nakwakwoci, throwing a pinch of meal to the east and muttering inaudible words. We then retraced our steps back to the house, mounted to the roof, and in a little crypt at the northwest corner Hoñyi placed more sacred meal and another string with attached feather.

He then sat on the edge of the roof, muffled himself in his blanket, for it was quite cold, and watched for the appearance of the sun.

As soon as the sun's disk appeared above the horizon, Hoñyi dropped a handful of meal at his feet before him, placed a nakwakwoci upon it, slowly rose, drew his blanket about him, and shouted the announcement in a loud voice. Portions of the announcement I could not get, but the purport was that the Snake-Antelope priests would assemble and pray for rain, adding an invocation to the cloud deities to send the welcome rain in obedience to their needs. The intention of the words is not so much an announcement to the public that the ceremony was to begin as to the gods of the six directions (nananivo monmowitû) that the people sorely needed rain, and the chiefs were about to assemble to pray for it.¹

¹ The general character of the official announcement may be gathered by a consultation of my article on the Walpi Flute Ceremony, where a free translation is given of the crier's words at that time.

The altars of both Antelope and Snake men were the same as in 1891 and 1893, but with this addition. On my visit to the priests in 1893 I presented the Antelope chief Wiki with a specimen of *Limulus Polyphemus*, the horseshoe crab of the east coast of the United States. This was pronounced to be the Wupopavikya, or "The Giant Tadpole," and was deposited back of the Antelope poñya, with prayers. In the 1895 altar "The Giant Tadpole" was placed in the same position and treated with the same reverence as a fetish. A fragment of water-worn wood which I had likewise given Wiki in 1893 was also deposited on the altar. With the exception of numerous mytelus shells which I had given Kopeli in 1893, the objects on the Snake altar were the same as in the two preceding presentations of the Snake Dance. I added to Kopeli's fetishes the shell of a large green turtle for his altar, and later observers may notice this powerful rain-bringer on subsequent Snake altars. I also gave both Antelope and Snake priests numerous haliotis shells, which were used in their personal adornment during the public dance.

The Antelope paho, called the cakwapaho, was the same as in 1893, identical with my figure of it (p. 27) in the Snake memoir. I noticed that the tiponi of the Snake chief this year (1895) had small bluebird feathers tied to the extremities of the longer feathers, as already pointed out as characteristic of the Snake whip and the bundles of red feathers which the Snake priests wear on their heads. The presence of bluebird feathers on the tiponi is not, I believe, an innovation, but escaped our searching studies of two years ago.¹

The following ceremonials of the 1895 Snake Dance were witnessed by me and found to be the same as in 1891 and 1893:—

1. Sixteen songs and dramatization.²
2. Initiation ceremonials, in which the bear and puma were personified.
3. Preparation of the Snake charm liquid.
4. Snake washing.

To these may be added the Snake and Antelope foot-races, and of course the Antelope and Snake Dances on the plaza.

During my conversations, in the kivas and outside, with the Snake and Antelope priests, I have been told by several of them that por-

¹ The two sticks which are tied together are exactly alike, and neither has a facet cut on it in representation of a face.

² During the singing of these songs, two of these implements were used by Wiyatiwa. While I had noticed the use of two whizzers by Hahawe in 1891 and 1893, I neglected to state that fact. Before use in the kiva and on the roof, one end of these objects were dipped in the charm liquid, but on the plaza this preliminary was not deemed necessary.

tions of the Snake ceremonials still survive at Acoma, which would not be surprising in view of the fact that we know from Espejo that a similar dance was celebrated there in his time (1583). Repeated questioning from those who have a knowledge of Acoma ritual has failed, however, to give me any information of its survival there, but I should not be surprised if future investigators reported its existence in a modified form.¹

The public Snake Dance took place August 21 in 1891, August 14 in 1893, and August 18 in 1895; the limits of the dates in these three performances were therefore seven days apart, from which we learn that the time of its celebration varies somewhat in different years. The remarkable thing is that the Sun priests can determine so accurately the date to celebrate it, especially as they are wholly ignorant of our calendars or almanacs. The public Snake Dance at Micoñinovi took place in 1895, as in 1893, on the day before the Walpi Snake Dance.

Of the dates of the Snake Dance prior to 1891 I can get little reliable information. In 1881 it was seen by Bourke,² and in 1887 and 1889 by Stephen, Messenger, and others.

Our camp on the day of the Snake hunt at the east was at Sikyatki, a prehistoric ruin three miles away, and all day long the Snake priests hunted reptiles in that vicinity. We were then engaged in packing our collections, but I was especially urged by Kopeli not to work on the ruins or allow any one to stir out of camp on that day; the reason assigned being that any one who did so would "swell up and burst." The Snake priests on this hunt had their dinner at the spring Kanelba, sheep-water, and the Indian boy who ordinarily brought our drinking water from this spring could not be prevailed upon to visit it between sunrise and sunset. The taboo of all work in the world-quarter where the Snake priests are hunting is religiously observed by all Hopi and Tewa.

Notwithstanding I called Kopeli's attention to a hole in which, on previous days, I had observed a rattlesnake, he would not dig it out in my presence, so carefully do they preserve this one feature of the ceremony, the capture of the reptile in the open. The number of serpents taken in the several hunts in 1895 was larger than in

¹ The rattlesnake was held in enough reverence at Sikyatki to lead some one there to deposit its rattle in the grave of one of their number, as my excavations last summer prove. Sikyatki was undoubtedly destroyed before the advent of the Spaniards, from which it may be concluded that the rattlesnake was used as a symbol at a very early date in Tusayan. A rattlesnake rattle, according to Mrs. Stevenson, is placed on the altar of the Sia Snake Society.

² The account by Captain Bourke was the first adequate one which we have of the Snake Dance, and from it dates a scientific interest in this ceremonial, as well as a valuable knowledge of its character.

either 1891 or 1893. It is impossible to do more than estimate the exact number, but more than eighty were used this year. Not all of these were rattlesnakes, but there were certainly fifty of these venomous creatures. The rattlesnake is especially sought, and is called "chief," because it is most efficacious in bringing rain.

My inquiries of Kopeli, "Why do you carry the snake in the mouth?" elicited no satisfactory answer. "Because he is a rain-bringer; because he carries the rattle as we, when personating Kactinas, carry the rattle in our hands," he replied. He spoke of lightning as a rain-cloud snake.¹

The Public Snake Dance. — The exercises on the plaza, although the same as in 1891 and 1893, showed some variation on account of the deaths already recorded. The most important of these changes were as follows: The part of the warrior (Kalektaka) was taken by Wikyatiwa instead of Tawa, whose personation of the warrior chief was rather undignified in 1893. The Kalektaka was the priest who followed the line of Antelopes as they entered the plaza, and who stood at the extreme left of the platoon while the reptiles were being carried by the Snake priests. He bore the Antelope standard (awatanatci), and the bow and quiver of the warrior, and likewise twirled the whizzer at important times during the ceremony.

The bodies of the Snake priests were covered with a wash of black pigment, and were not stained as red as Scott's painting of a group of Snake priests in my memoir would lead one to believe.

When the snakes were borne about the plaza in the mouths of the participants, the carriers were noticed to drop them always at a certain point, where they were captured by the gatherers. No attempt was made to try to capture a reptile when he was coiled, but he was coaxed to uncoil with the snake whips, and as soon as the rattlesnake moved from the coiled posture he was quickly picked up by the priests, who grasped the reptile by the neck. My attention was called in the kiva, when the reptiles were free on the floor, to a rattlesnake which was very sluggish in his movements. Two of the priests were handling it, catching hold of the tail and trying to shake the rattles. I thought the reptile was wounded, but was assured that he was feeble from age. They called him a wüktaka, or old man snake, and notwithstanding repeated handling this sluggish reptile did not coil, nor could the articulations of his rattles, of which he had many, be made to emit any noise.

¹ During my archæological work this summer I came to know the Snake chief better than ever before. He was with me during the whole of my investigations, and I found him a trustworthy, honest, and, as he looks at things, a deeply religious man. In my many talks with him I have been impressed with his modesty, gentleness, and courage, which have won the respect of his fellow Hopi, and this feeling was shared by all the white men in my camp.

During the public Snake Dance the southern edge of the plaza was lined, as on previous presentations, with rows of spectators, who stood on the very edge. A step behind them was a sheer descent of possibly a hundred feet. It has always been a surprise to me that in the stirring events of the dance some one did not step back and lose his balance, especially as the reptiles sometimes make their way from their captors into this crowd. No accident has, however, taken place here in the last three dances, although a snake of considerable size in the 1895 celebration "took a header" over this precipice.

In the short time in which I have worked in Tusayan I know of two accidents which have happened to Indians falling from the mesa. One was a Navajo who had visited the Alkiva in a night ceremony. When he emerged on the roof of the kiva, somewhat dazed, he turned the wrong way, and stepped off the edge. He died where he fell. In 1895, shortly before the Snake Dance, a child fell from the mesa on the north side, opposite the court which leads to the dance plaza, breaking his collar-bone, but not losing his life. At the edge of the mesa where the accident occurred the members of the family placed a small twig, to which was fastened *nakwakwoci*, or strings with attached feathers. This was a votive or thank-offering possibly to some god. A similar offering of a propitiatory nature was placed in the trenches of the cemetery of *Sikyatki* every evening after work by the Indians. In this case it was an offering to the dread god of death, *Masauwûh*, for disturbing the graves of the defunct.¹

Snake Priests bitten by Reptiles.—On each celebration of the Snake Dance it is reported that several priests were bitten, and some accounts have gone so far as to say "that men were seen going about the plaza with snakes hanging by the fangs from their cheeks." It is important to have these statements critically examined, for if true they are most important in the discussion of the possible antidote. While I have personally never seen a priest bitten, I endeavored this summer to specially watch for such a mishap, and asked one or two of my friends to do the same. I had not the misfortune to see any one bitten, but two cases were reported, one of whom was an unknown, said to have been struck in the cheek; the other my friend, *Supela*, bitten in the back of the hand. After the dance, when the priests were drinking the emetic, before they had bathed, I went among them, and asked to see the one bitten in the face. I could not find any one who had blood on his face or who claimed to have been bitten there. *Supela*, however, showed me

¹ The Hopi, like many other Indians, will not touch human bones, but showed no serious objection to excavating in the ancient cemeteries.

blood on the back of one hand, and I asked him if he had been bitten. He replied that he had, and I examined the wound. There was certainly much blood upon it, and from the effusion of blood there was no doubt that he was wounded. It is necessary, however, to know, even supposing the wound was from a snake bite, that the bite was that of a rattlesnake, as other non-venomous reptiles were used. I asked Supela if he had been bitten by *tcüa* (rattler), and he said, Yes! Here, then, we have a specific case: a man bitten, as he said, and as my friends declared, by a rattlesnake, but that bite bleeding profusely. While it would have been more conclusive to me if I had seen the snake strike him, I must rest the evidence as I have given it. As far as I know, Supela's wound was not fatal, nor did his hand swell up, as ordinarily happens a few hours after such a mishap. As far as my examination of the question whether the priests are ever bitten is concerned, I have to answer that Supela's case affords strong, possibly conclusive, evidence that they sometimes are, and his statement that the wound was inflicted by a rattlesnake is thus far in evidence.

Since the publication of my Snake memoir,¹ several accounts of the Snake Ceremony at Oraibi, by Mr. Politzer,² have appeared, and a description of the same at Cuñopavi or Cipaulovi by Mr. R. H. Baxter,³ none of which deal with kiva ceremonials.

From Mr. Politzer's account and his kodak photographs it would seem that the presentation of the Snake Dance at Oraibi in 1894 was celebrated by a small number of priests. Relying on these evidences, I was inclined to the belief that the Snake order is small in that pueblo. From what I learned during my visit in 1895 it is probable that many of the priests absented themselves on account of the division of the pueblo into friendly and hostile parties. It is claimed by Mr. Voth that the friendly party did not join their fellow-priests, and that the order is large; and it remains to be seen whether in 1896, when the Snake drama at Oraibi is next presented, reconciliation will be effected, or those who withdraw will set up an altar of their own.⁴

¹ "Snake Ceremonials at Walpi," *Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. iv.

² "Snake Dance of the Moquis," *New York Herald*, Nov. 11, 1894; "Mouthfuls of Rattlesnakes," *San Francisco Examiner*, Oct. 21, 1894; "The Moqui Serpent Dance," *St. Louis Republican*, Nov. 7, 1894; "Among the Moquis," *Boston Daily Traveler*, Nov. 7, 1894. In addition to these, some of which are more or less garbled, Mr. Politzer has sent me his MSS. of the Oraibi dance.

³ "The Moqui Snake Dance," *Amer. Antiquarian*, vol. xvii. No. 4, 1895. Mr. Baxter's article is very vague and unsatisfactory.

⁴ Possibly the present division of the pueblo will lead to rapid changes in the ritual, and destruction of some of the ceremonials. It is to be hoped, from an ethnological point of view, that immediate studies of Oraibi ceremoniology will be made, for the use of future students of aboriginal American religions.

The attendance of white spectators at the 1895 dance at Walpi was larger¹ than on either of the two previous presentations, and many of the visitors came from a considerable distance. The fame of the Snake Dance has spread far and wide, and the audiences steadily increase with each successive performance. They are no longer composed of persons from Holbrook, Winslow, Flagstaff, and neighboring army posts, but includes journalists, artists, public lecturers, and ethnologists from distant cities. Some of the newspapers of New York and Chicago sent reporters to describe for their readers the details of the dance, and several professional photographers² were likewise present.

What will be the influence on the character of the presentation as the numbers of white visitors increase? Thus far their presence has not changed the religious intent and character of the dance, and the priests have not allowed strangers to enter their kivas. Each year, at the request of the chiefs, I have posted placards³ on the kiva ladders, warning whites not to enter or intrude, and these warnings have not been violated. The advent of so many visitors has been a source of pecuniary profit to the Hopi, furnishing a limited market for their pottery, baskets, dolls, rental of rooms, and services. It has been a means of acquainting the Hopi with Americans, who visit the pueblo in larger numbers at that time than in all the remaining months of the year. These advantages seem to me to be lost sight of by those zealous persons who would suppress it. The presence of fifty or more Americans at each dance must have an influence in familiarizing the two races with each other.⁴ If these strange rites were destroyed, a much smaller number of whites would visit Walpi than at present, and if force were used to make them abandon the dance, as some have suggested, a considerable number would become hostile or at least suspicious of the whites, and nothing would be given in its place to draw the biennial visitors, who leave more or less money with them.

I have little to add to what I have already written in regard to the

¹ Fully seventy white persons witnessed the 1895 Snake Dance at Walpi.

² From most of the photographers who were present I obtained copies of their work, and I also have several new kodak views of my own taking, but none of them are satisfactory for reasons elsewhere assigned.

³ The placards for the 1895 dance were beautifully illustrated by Mr. Sykes with pictures of the Antelope and Snake sand paintings copied from my memoir. The chiefs, however, would not allow these to be put up until the illustrations had been cut out, so carefully do they strive to keep all that pertains to their altars from the ken of the inquisitive.

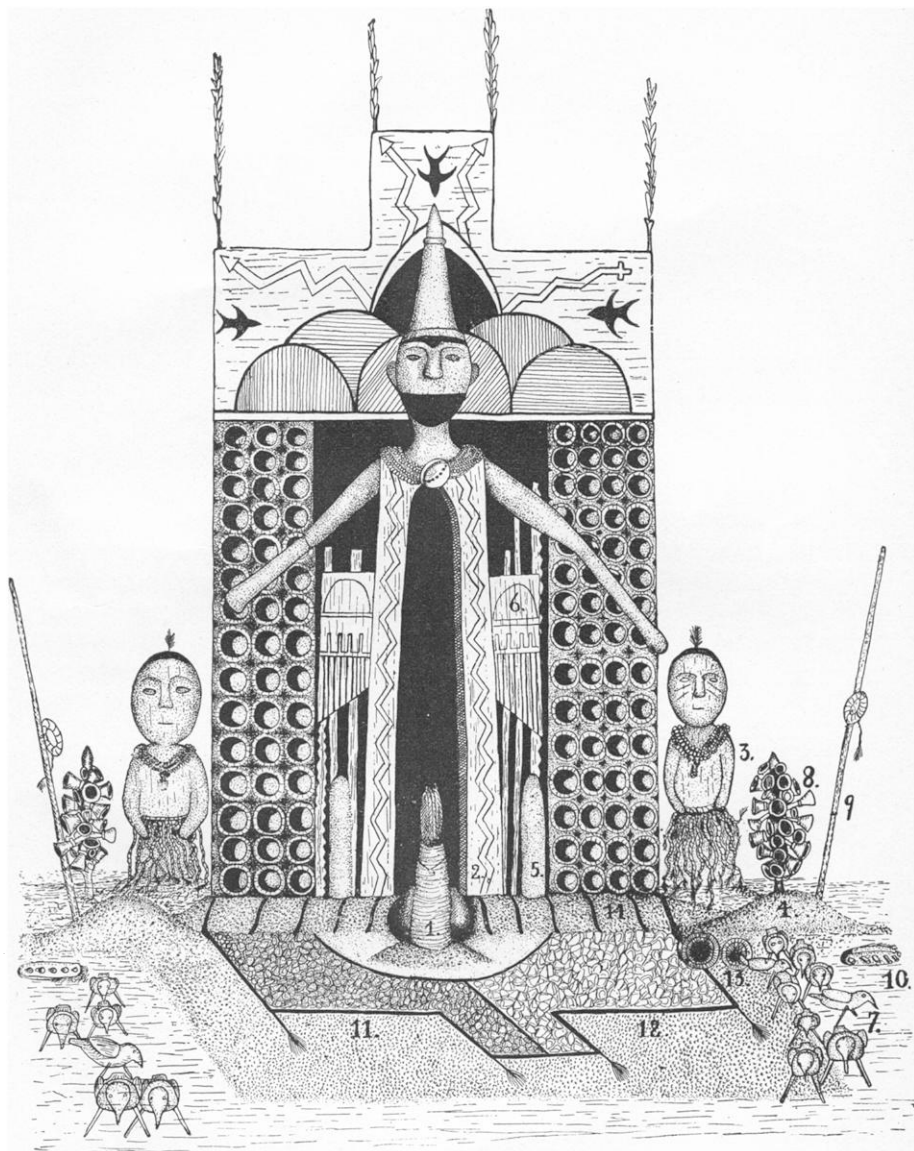
⁴ Although the Snake Dance is but one of many great ceremonials of the Hopi, probably it has done more to disseminate a knowledge of this interesting people than anything else connected with them.

meaning of the Snake Dance, and the explanation that it is a rain ceremony is supported by later studies. I am inclined more and more to believe that marked elements of sun-worship will be found to be present in this mysterious observance, as the association of the serpent with sun-worship is a common feature in American religions; it has been shrewdly suggested that it is a summer solstitial ceremony highly modified.¹ The date of its occurrence is somewhat tardy for a solstice ceremony, but the whole Tusayan ritual has more or less well-developed solar rites in its composition, and we can hardly fail to find traces of it in this important observance.

The most important general result of my studies of the 1895 Snake Dance is a verification of what I have elsewhere stated, that the ceremony in successive presentations is performed in exactly the same way, and no intentional modifications are introduced even when, by the death of older members of the fraternities, new men succeed those who have died. The differences in statement of fact which we detect in the many accounts of the Snake Dance resolve themselves into poor or incomplete observations on the part of those who have written the articles, and not, as some would have us think, in capricious changes in the ceremony itself. The discovery of the permanency of the rite even in details gives the ethnologist new hopes that the ancient character of the Snake Dance can be reasonably made out by a study of the presentation of the survivals at the present day, and adds a greater certainty to speculations as to its origin, built on the character of its present observance.

F. Walter Fewkes.

¹ I do not, however, follow some other writers in calling the Pueblos "sun-worshippers" more than "rain-worshippers" or "earth-worshippers." If any cult is preëminent in the Tusayan region, it is the worship of the rain-cloud deities.



THE ORAIBI FLUTE ALTAR

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

Altar of one of the Oraibi Flute societies ; called the Leñtiponi poñya or Flute tiponi altar, from the fact that the most important object upon it is the Flute tiponi.

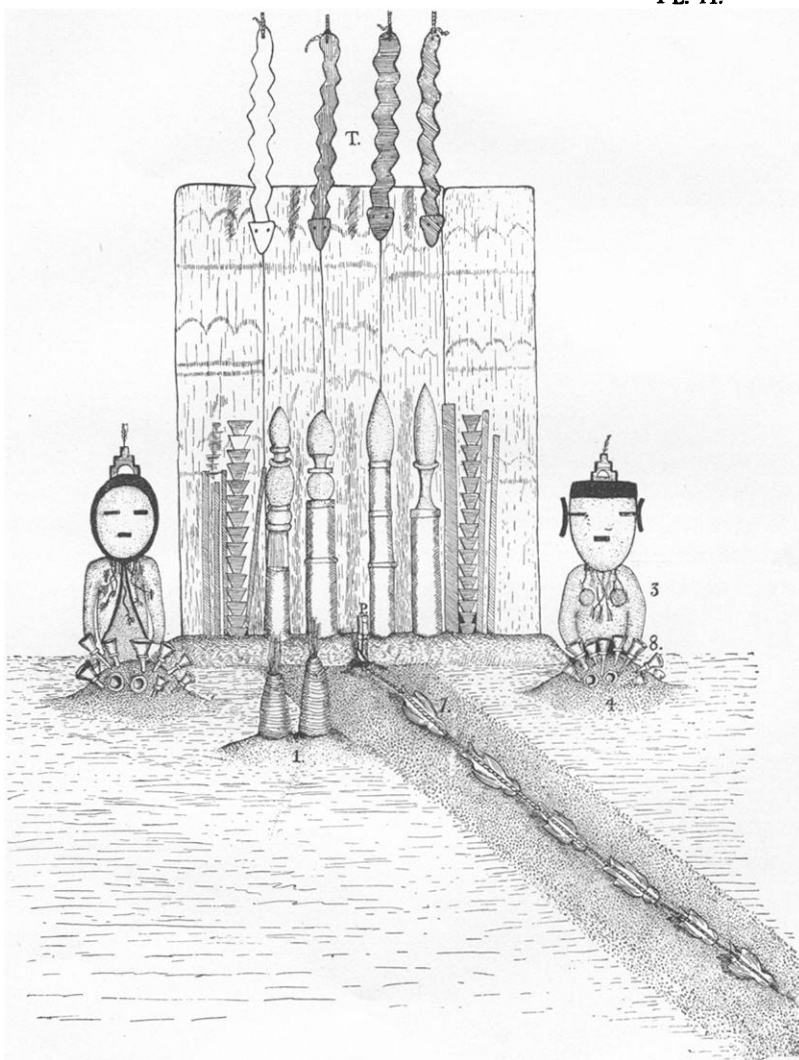
1. Leñtiponi. 2. Effigy of the god Cotokinuñwa, or Heart of all the Sky. 3. Leñtiyo or male cultus hero of the Flutes, whose complemental female is on the other side of the poñya (altar). 4. Talactcomo or Pollen Mound. 5. Symbolic ear of corn. 6. Rain-cloud symbols on a flat piece of wood. 7. The Flute birds. 8. A collection of artificial flowers (or flutes), arranged as a plant. 9. Stick and amulet carried by the girls who engage in the public ceremony. 10. Unknown object. 11. Half of the corn painting, made of blue kernels of maize. 12. Complemental half of the same, made of yellow kernels of maize. 13. Artificial flowers. 14. The ridge of sand by which the altar objects are supported.

The rain-cloud semicircles shaded with vertical lines are colored red ; those with horizontal, green ; and those with slanting, yellow. The field upon which the zigzag lightning and black birds are depicted is a dingy yellow, and none of the colors are very brilliant. The background of the central figure is intensified to bring out more prominently the altar figures.

PLATE II.

Flute altar at Cipaulovi. 1. Tiponis. 3. Leñya (flute) mana (maid). 4. Talac (talasi, corn pollen) tcomo (mound). 7. Row of six directions' birds, bearing on their backs a long string, pühtabi (pühû, road), way of blessings, which extends from a Flute paho, P, to the end of a broad pollen-meal trail. T. Four talawipiki (lightning) symbols in the form of serpent effigies hanging from the roof.

The symbolism of the five boards which form the upright of the altar is obscure, but rain-clouds were evidently depicted upon them.



THE CIPAULOVİ FLUTE ALTAR